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How We Can Defeat the Russians in Latin America

The President's special message to Congress on foreign aid was marked by a welcome change in manner and content from his White House speech to the Latin American ambassadors and the Latin American aid message which followed it the week before. The prose was sober, and eschewed the razzle dazzle of its predecessors. The program was marked by constructive steps forward. The proposals for integrating all aid agencies under one organizational roof; the recommendation that Congress make longer range planning easier by allowing loan authorizations of no less than five years instead of on the present year-by-year basis; above all the idea of "long term development loans at low or no rates of interest repayable in dollars" over as much as 50 years—all these deserve public support, and will need it to get through a lethargic Congress with a growing hostility to foreign lending altogether.

The Kind of Sacrifices We Need

But sympathy for the President's difficulties "on the hill" and a realization that at the moment it would be impolitic for him to ask for more should not lead us to deceive ourselves. This is not an adequate program. Until and unless the American public can be taught to see the foreign aid problem in much bigger terms—conceptually and financially—we are not going to have an adequate program. The advantage of a trip to Cuba and a talk with its leaders is that one begins to see the challenge in its real dimensions. The Russians have several advantages over us in the foreign aid field. The first is that the government controls the whole of industry, and can make direct commitments in terms of machinery and materials as well as technicians; the best we can do is offer loans and grants which must then be translated on the open market into the wares required. The second is that the Soviet economy is geared to full employment and maximum output. The third is that its leaders as directors of a huge state capitalist regime are prepared to support underdeveloped countries in large-scale publicly owned enterprises of the kind most of these countries need, instead of forcing them to wait until some enterprising investor comes along. In the fourth place, the huge Soviet economy can do business in barter terms, even for commodities like Cuban sugar or Egyptian cotton which it may not need. The planned economy thus makes it easy for the Russians to fulfill their political objectives in foreign aid. With basic resources comparable to ours, the Russians in this respect have superior economic and political tools. Unless we are willing to look squarely at these unpleasant realities, which run so contrary to our cherished clichés about free enterprise and our childish nightmare fears of socialism, we are not going to win out in peaceful competition with them. The President has talked of the need for sacrifice in that struggle. The most important sacrifice is to get rid of these blocks to realistic thinking and to find leaders willing to risk their respectability by saying some of these things in public.

With their assets, the Russians can easily bring about a sizeable industrialization in a small country like Cuba within a few years and put us on the spot by enormously raising the expectations with which we are faced in the rest of the hemisphere. The makers of American policy should study carefully the report made last January 6 over TV by Major Ernesto Guevera, Cuba's industrialization chief, on his return from his "shopping tour" of the Soviet bloc. He listed the factories promised him and explained Cuba's plans. Nowhere in the world have we been able to offer an underdeveloped country such swift and comprehensive aid in industrializing itself. In a long luncheon talk with this extraordinarily able young man, a physician who became a soldier and now an economic planner, I was able to see the enormous attractive power of the Soviet bloc in Latin America. "Che" Guevera is neither a Communist nor a socialist in background. But as a Latin revolutionary embittered by first hand experience with U.S. policy in Guatemala and now in Cuba, he has been completely won over by the Soviets. What impressed him most on his tour, he told me, was the extraordinary speed with which the Soviet bloc has rebuilt and industrialized

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No Forced Labor in Angola?

"Political subjugation, economic exploitation . . . are and always have been alien to the Portugese nation. . . . The contention that forced labor exists in overseas Portugal is a shameless and deliberate falsehood."

—Portugal's Garin to the Security Council, Mar. 15

"All the country's newspapers are heavily censored, as are foreign publications. An issue of an American news magazine was held up until a map showing the growth of independent African nations between 1950 and 1960 could be removed. . . . Africans are rounded up for private employers by professional recruiters, who threaten to have them drafted into the army or into government labor gangs for even lower wages than the $9 a month they receive from private employers. If there is a shortage of labor to fill a work quota, Africans are often taken from their homes and sent to distant labor gangs, even though they have already worked their statutory six months. . . . Forced labor is not confined to males. When a district tribal chief runs short of men . . . women and children are furnished while Portuguese authorities look the other way."

—Look Magazine on Portuguese Angola, Mar. 28

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Editorial: Remember How Tragic Was Wilson's Failure to Win Senate Approval for the League

Peace Groups Must Prepare Now to Support JFK on Nuclear Test Treaty

Woodrow Wilson's failure to get Senate ratification of U.S. membership in the League of Nations set the stage for World War II. John F. Kennedy's failure to get Senate ratification of a nuclear test ban treaty might set the stage for World War III. I suggest that all peace organizations without waiting for conclusion of the talks in Geneva mobilize to drive this simple point home in a national campaign. The peace movement has a tendency to start late. This campaign should be organized now if it is to have full effect in enabling the President to hurdle the two-thirds vote barrier in the Senate. A minimum of 67 votes will be required and they will not be easy to get. *Especially important:* work in key States like California (where former AEC Chairman McCone and the Joint Congressional Committee Chairman Chet Holifield of Los Angeles are opposed to a test ban treaty). Community "seminars" throwing the whole topic open to the widest possible discussion, pro and con, should be organized as quickly as possible. The aim should be a well-informed public, with enough built-in sophistication to withstand the expected scare campaign against a treaty.

A Fight Which Can Be Won

Peace groups are conditioned to being wailing walls on the periphery of our society. In the coming fight over a nuclear test ban treaty they will for the first time be working in the realm of the possible, not the utopian; supporting the President, not just some lone voice in Congress. The nuclear test treaty fight will test our mettle in the big league, and our ability to eschew various types of stale sloganeering—pacifist and party line—and translate complex technical and human issues into effective language. To fail in this fight would be tragic; to win it, would be to begin the process of winning a wider public than ever before to an understanding of the broader and deeper issues which must be tackled next on disarmament. These include not only questions of inspection, control and armament elimination but the construction of a new world order with its own police force able to take the place of anarchic national state armies. There has never been a bigger test of the good people who want peace but have not been confronted with circumstances that gave them much hope hitherto of getting it.

The opening offers of the U.S. delegation at Geneva showed a welcome change from the past. For more than a year during the last talks the U.S. chief negotiator, Wadsworth, had to stall for lack of instructions from home, notably on outer space testing where the Russians months ago offered to let us write our own ticket. Eisenhower wanted an agreement but lacked the will to push it forward. Kennedy has both the desire and the will. Many difficulties lie ahead, but a treaty is possible. The friends of peace mustn't wait until the treaty is signed to get busy.

Something Rotten in the State of Laos

There seems to be an idea in Washington that all we need to do in Laos is to pour in more military aid. But there is hardly an area in the world into which we have poured more aid than Laos. The U.S. has spent some $300,000,000 by now on the Laotian forces; its soldiers are the highest paid in Asia. The inflow of dollars for the army was so heavy that it set off an inflationary spiral and led to corruption. Yet now we learn from an AP dispatch out of Vientiane (Washington Star, March 18) that the Laotian troops are "battle-shy" (that is too scared to fight) and that after all the money spent on this army "Only one man in five among the almost 30,000 troops has had even rudimentary training." The AP attributes this revelation to a report sent Washington by "U.S. military aid officials here," i.e. in Laos. This 30,000-man army cannot stand up to a Pathet Lao force estimated at 8,000 to 10,000 men, or a third its size A General Accounting Office auditor warned the Porter Hardy subcommittee of House Government Operations (U.S. Aid Operations in Laos) two years ago "the logistical system would collapse even more quickly than the Lao forces would disintegrate" (p. 244). The warehouses were jammed and supplies were rotting even then.

The Laws and Treaties Violated By Allowing Our Undeclared War On Cuba

"On one recent day, March 13, trucks were carrying 243 Cuban volunteers out of Miami on the first leg of their trip to a basic training camp somewhere in the Caribbean area. . . . Since early February, Cubans have been shipping out of Miami for training camps at the rate of about 100 daily. That means between 3,000 and 4,000 recruits have been added to the anti-Castro forces in recent weeks."

—From Miami, "The Big Build-Up to Overthrow Castro," U.S. News & World Report, March 27.

"Whoever, within the United States, enlists or enters himself, or hires or retains another to enlist or enter himself, or to go beyond the jurisdiction of the United States with intent, to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign prince, state, colony, district or people as a soldier or as a marine or seaman . . . shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both."

—U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 959

"Whoever, within the United States, knowingly begins or sets on foot or provides or prepares a means for or furnishes the money for, or takes part in, any military or naval expedition to be carried on from thence against the territory or domination of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district or people with whom the United States is at peace, shall be fined not more than $3,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both."

—U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 960

"The High Contracting Parties declare inadmissible the intervention of any of them, directly or indirectly, and for whatever reason, in the internal or external affairs of any other of the Parties."

—Article 1, Buenos Aires Protocol of Non-Intervention, signed by U.S. and Cuba among others, Dec. 23, 1936.

"The High Contracting Parties, solemnly reaffirming their commitments made in earlier international conventions and declarations, as well as in the Charter of the United Nations, agree to refrain from the threat or the use of force, or from any other means of coercion for the settlement of their controversies, and to have recourse at all times to pacific procedures."

Article 1, Pact of Bogota, American Treaty of Pacific Settlement, by U.S. and Cuba among others, April 30, 1948.

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An Implicit Admission by Senators Eastland and Dodd in Their Attack on Dr. Linus Pauling

Even They Haven't the Heart to Criticize Japan's Welcome for His Petition

We are haunted by a parenthesis in the Senate Internal Security Committee's report attacking Dr. Linus Pauling. It occurs on page 16 where the Committee indulges in a statistical non-sequitur. It says that if we take the 11,021 signatures on Dr. Pauling's 1958 petition against nuclear testing and subtract those from the U.S. and Japan, "then we find that Communist Europe, led by the USSR, produced almost as many signatures" as the rest of the free world combined. Just what this proves was not made clear. What interests us is not this dizzy arithmetic but the parenthesis which followed mention of Japan. This referred to Japan as a place "where for understandable reasons, such a petition could be expected to meet with considerable response *no matter what the auspices.*" (Our italics).

New Cancers Remind Them Every Day

This parenthetic reference is worth consideration. What are the "understandable reasons" which make Japan a place where a petition for an end to nuclear testing "could be expected to meet with considerable response no matter what the auspices?" The Committee does not dare to give these reasons. They are indeed easily understandable. The one country in the world which has known the horrors of a nuclear bombardment, the only one which knows at first hand the frightful dangers of nuclear radiation, the place where Hiroshima and Nagasaki see new cancers still occurring daily as a result of those mushroom shaped clouds a decade and a half ago, is not a country which is apt to worry about the politics of those circulating a petition in any way designed to prevent a repetition of such horrors.

Even the Internal Security Committee is sober enough not to upbraid the Japanese for signing the Pauling petition in such large numbers without first making sure that he had never been associated with Communist causes. Indeed the Japanese may very well feel encouraged (and we would, too, if we did not have to live in the shadow of a witch hunt) that an end of testing and the fight against nuclear war are Communist as well as non-Communist concerns. It is good that a common realization of mankind's common danger is shared on both sides of the ideological divide. Even Senators Eastland and Dodd don't dare give the Japanese a lecture to the contrary. They exempt Japan from criticism.

We would ask Senators Eastland and Dodd as fellow human beings to consider the full implications for a moment. If our country should some day—God forbid!—feel the horrors of nuclear war as Japan did, will not the same "understandable reasons" make our country as little concerned as Japan with the auspices of any action to prevent a repetition? The survivors would look back and regard literally as madmen anyone who thought that *anything* was as important as preventing such a hell-on-earth. How would the survivors of our America feel tomorrow about Senators so twisted in their minds by fear of Communism that their main concern had been not to prevent nuclear war but to pillory a great scientist trying to prevent it, and to hunt down and expose those who tried to help him because some still were or might once have been Communists?

Bad News for the Un-Americans

We applaud the President for his order ending the practice by which the Post Office and the Treasury for the last 11 years have been deciding what Americans may read by intercepting newspapers and books from Communist countries. The order renders moot a suit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union to end this thought control practice; it cleanses the air of a typical cold war totalitarian infection; it is also a blow to the House Un-American Activities Committee. For the last four years the Un-Americans have been taking Irving Fishman, deputy collector of customs in New York, on tour for hearings in which he puts on a horror show about Red propaganda in the mails. It seems that a cardinal principle of the American creed as revised by Chairman Walter is that the government has a right to police the mails to keep out dangerous thoughts. We are glad to see that the President has put a stop to this truly subversive nonsense. We also note, with pleasure, that the order was issued despite a last minute visit to the President by Chairman Walter. Another unpleasant piece of news for the Un-Americans was the announcement that 250 college professors have now signed an ACLU Academic Freedom Committee statement calling for abolition of the Committee. It looks as if the pall of fear is lifting.

Look Who Eastland and the Internal Security Committee Regard As Patriotic!

"Our fear of the John Birch Society [a new secret right wing order] is based on our own findings, on the meticulously researched articles written by Gene Blake. . . .

"What are we to think when our last three Presidents, Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower are accused [in the Society's literature] of being Communists or Communist dupes . . . when these charges are levelled against Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, against his brother Allen . . . against the Chief Justice . . . when the honor and integrity of the Vice President [Nixon] are questioned . . . when we are told that our nation's press almost without exception is Communist infiltrated and inspired . . . when all loyal Americans are accused of being Communist dupes unless they subscribe to the radical and dictatorial direction of one self-chosen man [the head of this secret society]?

—"Peril to Conservatives" signed editorial by Otis Chandler, publisher of the conservative Republican Los Angeles Times, March 12, read on the Senate floor March 20 by Senator Young (R. North Dakota) in calling attention to the menace of this new secret order.

Washington, March 20 (UPI)—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is answering queries about the controversial John Birch Society, a semi-secret anti-Communist organization, by describing it as apparently "a patriotic organization," it was learned today.

The subcommittee's evaluation is being sent out in a form letter over the signature of James O. Eastland, the chairman, a Mississippi Democrat. It reads:

"The John Birch Society, about which you asked is known to be a conservative anti-Communist organization. However, the subcommittee cannot endorse any organization officially. We are happy to state that it seems to be, from our records, a patriotic organization."

—New York Times, March 21

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What A Giant Our Industrial Society Could Be If Fully Mobilized

(Continued from Page One)

devastated North Korea. His heroes are men like Kim Il Sung and Ho Chi-minh. He sees the Fidelistas embarking on a long struggle like theirs with U.S. power. He represents a Latin generation which has grown cynical about our repeated protestations of a desire for social reform and is turning to the Russians for aid in the industrialization which can alone end the miserable poverty of their people. We must learn to see this in human terms if we are to deal with it. We cannot do so if we regard such men as "Che" as sinister puppets in some occult conspiracy.

Fidel Was Too Conservative

To meet this challenge we are going to have to do some fresh thinking. To preserve the free values we cherish (at least in theory) against the stultifying thought controls which are the price of the Soviet road to industrialization, we must learn from them (as they eventually must learn from us). The so-called foreign aid problem is not one of peripheral charity. It calls for overhaul of our economy. The President touched on this when he said in his foreign aid message that "less than 80 percent of our industrial capacity is now in use and nearly 7 percent of our labor force is unemployed." Here we begin to see the larger outlines of the problem. The fact is, as Secretary of Labor Goldberg recently pointed out, that each of our postwar recessions has left behind it a mounting toll of permanent joblessness. The fact is, as Walter Heller, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers recently told Congress, that the gap between what we are now producing and what we can produce is $50 billion a year. In this enormous slack we can measure the real potential of our giant industrial society *if it were fully mobilized.* Against this backdrop, the President's talk of $2.4 billion in economic aid for the whole world seems ludicrously small and Fidel Castro's proposal at Buenos Aires in May, 1959, for a 10-year $30 billion aid program for Latin America—or $3 billion a year—seems too conservative.

The respected UN Commission for Latin America has estimated that Latin America needs $2 billion in new investment each year just to keep up with its population growth without a further decline in its miserably low living standards. Our press laughed at Fidel Castro when he spoke of $3 billion a year in aid and we lost our chance. For he was then speaking, as in that speech, of "ni pan sin libertad ni libertad sin pan" (neither bread without liberty nor liberty without bread) and still rejecting the Soviet way.

If we can subsidize agriculture with food exports for peace, why can't we subsidize full industrial employment with long term credits for foreign development? Why should basic industries like steel be allowed to break even around 30 percent of capacity and operate at 50 percent when the world is hungry for capital goods and our place in the world depends on satisfying these aspirations? If we had the vision and the courage to gear our industry by planning to full employment, we could transform Latin America and the world and leave the Russians far behind. This is the measure of the challenge. This is the real call to greatness for our generation of Americans. This is really a New Frontier, yet few dare even to talk about it.

Congo's Purse-Strings in Belgian Hands

Another glimpse of the purse-strings by which the Belgians control the Congo was afforded in a London Observer (March 19) profile of Katanga's secessionist leader, Moise Tshombe. "All the payments for Katanga's exports," it reported, "are collected in Antwerp, where the Belgians operate a blocked account for the Congo. It is from this account that they release funds —not Belgian, but Congolese money—to their chosen favorites in the Congo. This, for example, is the way they help General Mobutu to pay his army."

The portrait said of Tshombe's father that he was "a remarkably successful business man" who "got into difficulties" but was "helped to his feet by the Union Miniere, Katanga's mining giant." Tshombe himself seems to have continued in this pattern. Although he inherited a considerable estate, "he soon ended up in the bankruptcy courts. Like his father he was helped to his feet by the Union Miniere." The Observer said that at the time of independence Tshombe found himself without political allies and "his own tribal party, the Conakat, could look only to local Belgians for support." The most important "local Belgians" in Katanga are the managers of Union Miniere du Haut Katanga's vast mining operations.

This Is Last of Series Growing Out of Our Recent Trip to Cuba—You Can Still Start A Gift Sub With the First

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